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It may be remarked incidentally that the Mundurucú children have the Mongolian spot, as have also the Apiacá children.

Moieties and Sibs

The Tapajós Mundurucú,—and probably also the Madiera and Xingu Mundurucú,—have a well-developed moiety and sib system. The members of the individual sibs, with few exceptions seemingly, consider themselves related to the eponymous animals and plants. In the lists which we give below, the plant totems are marked with an "(m)". Several of the sibs have plural or multiple totems.

The ancestors of the sib are called *dabi* or *ši* and are embodied (verkörpert) in the large *kadake*-wind-instruments which are looked upon as having life. The *kadake* are blown at the men's festival (Maennerfest). At the end of the festival or rite, *sakawi*, a drink prepared for the festival out of manicuera is poured into the *kadake* from above, is caught in a cuia (native cup), and is drunk. The meaning of the ceremony is this: The ancestor of the sib is not to get angry; he is always to remain benignant toward his children.

A member of the Red Arara sib is in no sense prohibited to shoot and to eat an arara. The same holds for the members of other sibs toward their respective eponymous animals and plants.

The sibs are arranged in two moieties or marriage groups, the "Whites" and the "Reds". This arrangement was ordained by Karusakaibé,—himself a "Red", since he belonged to the *Karuakut*, the Red Arara sib. The moieties are strictly exogamous. The members of each moiety are under obligation to marry, not within their own moiety, but into the other moiety. Disobedience to this precept of the culture-bringing god, Karusakaibé is considered as an unheard-of thing.

The sibs are rigidly patrilineal, that is, the children become members of their father's sib. Only where sibs are *i baxip*, "related" (verwandt), may a child become a member of one of these related sibs. The Macaco prego sib and the Spider sib are, for example, "related".

It has previously been mentioned that the Mundurucú formerly had [illegible] huts with conical roofs. These huts are the dwelling places of totemistically organized tribes (Stamme). The last

[illegible] sheet, category III, p. 57-4. --Analyst]

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such hut stood until recently upon the Ikuribi, a plain not far from our Cururu mission.

I shall now give the names of the moieties and of the respective sibs under each moiety:

A. Moiety of the Whites, *i ririiyu'uyu*

1. *Ari* tree (m). 2. Cotton bush (m). 3. *Dariyu* sparrow hawk. 4. Sloth. 5. Fish otter. 6. *Ikâ* sparrow hawk. 7. *Ikupi* wasp. 8. Jabuti [Land tortoise]. 9. Japim [?]. 10. Toad. 11. Macaco de cheiro [Chrysothrix ?]. 12. Macaco prego [Cebus fatuellus]. 13. Piaba [a fish]. 14. Seringueira-Itauba (m) [rubber tree]. 15. Spider. 16. Swamp deer (Sumpfhirsch). 17. Taperibaxeiro (m) [genus Spondias ?]. 18. Wild cat (Wildkatze). 19. *Yatu* tree (m).

B. Moiety of the Reds, *i puppi'ka'uyu*

20. Corôca [a bird ?]. 21. Cutia [aguti. Dasyprocta]. 22. Jacu [guan. Penelope]. 23. Japu [Cassicus. Ostinops or Xanthornus]. 24. *Kahahahu* bird. 25. *Kapak* (Red Jurini ? *Ii'arumatyu pahpak-i'uat*?]. 26. Mãe da lua [a nocturnal bird]. 27. Mutum [curassow. Crax]. 28. Roe-deer (Reh). 29. Red Arara [red macaw]. 30. Saüba [an ant. Oecodoma cephalotes]. 31. Black Arara [black macaw]. 32. *Uyu* wasp. 33. *Ii'aru* tree (m). 34. Cricket (Zirpe).[1]

TRADITIONAL ORIGIN OF THE SIB SYSTEM

The sibs are supposed originally to have been independent tribes. "Os *ririuni* foram primeiro nações," was told me without my inquiring into this fact. The tribes had been at war with one another. Then came Karusakaibê and united them into one large nation, the Mundurucú confederacy. This great Indian event is supposed to have taken place where the Tapajós Mundurucú now live.

"Who told you this?" I asked my informant, a man who was in his best years. "An old man of the plain told me that," was the answer. In order to be more certain, I had the story repeated later in Mundurucú. This is the translation:

[1] The identifications, given in angular brackets in these two paragraphs, have been added by the editor,—in some cases tentatively only,—from more readily available sources in ZE, JSAP, etc.—Ed.

[See errata sheet, category 116, p. 57-A — Ed.]

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"In olden days the silo, *rinur*, lived very far apart from one another. They warred among themselves. Then they became brothers.[1] Karusaka'bé said, 'No more killing! Let us just be brothers.' 'Now let us be gay. Now everything is all right,' said he."

In this manner through Karusaka'bé there arose the Mundurucú confederacy. The brave "Black-faces" have done quite right in giving this noble Indian the honorable title "*Our Father*". As they express it, *Karusaka'bé uxy ebai*, "Karusaka'bé is our father."

Myth of Early Matriarchy and of its Abolition

This tale was received in two versions. I shall here relate the shorter of the two.

"In olden days the women were in possession of the Men's House, *Ihie*, while the men lived in the Big House, *Ihipa*.

"The men had to do all the work for the women. They had to hunt, fetch firewood, and even provide the manioca roots and bake the meal. All these things they did. They also carried the water.

"Now, at this time three women—namely, Yanyuléri, the ruler of our people, Taibbiru and Paraware—found three *kadaóe*. They took these wind instruments in a brook; they caught three little *Jeju* fishes. They tried the instruments. 'They sound good,' said they. Now they played; they played every day in the forest. Secretly they went there. Then the men became suspicious. 'Where can the women be going all the time?' they said. They hid themselves and kept watch. Then it was that they saw how the women played. Said the men, 'What shall we do?' 'We don't know,' they concluded. Then said the youngest brothers of Yanyuléri, that is Marimarebé and Mariburubé: 'Let us take the *kadaóe* away from them. Why, the women folk don't even hunt, whereas we have to take this work upon ourselves alone!' So they spoke, and took the *kadaóe* for themselves. They tried them. 'They sound good,' they said. Then they played[2]

[1] Wilkuyen of Winári appeared in October, 1927. From the signs which they left behind them, our Mundurucús concluded that these people who speak a related language wanted to become brothers.

[2] [See article 58 of 1; category 86, p. 57-A.—Analyst]

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304 Hartt and Martius both mention tattooing combs of palm thorns, but Tocantins states that the operation is performed with an agouti tooth. The skin is slashed and genipa juice is rubbed into the wound. Genipa is also [301] used as a paint to color areas enclosed by tattooed lines. Both sexes are tattooed but there are slight differences in design for each. The operation begins when the subject is about 8 years old and proceeds gradually over a period of years. It is seldom completed before the subject has reached the age of 20.

302 **Hairdress.**—The aboriginal hair style was the same for both sexes. The hair was cut just above the ears and at the nape of the neck. The crown of the head was shaved but a short, circular tuft was left above the center of the forehead.

MANUFACTURES

283 285 **Baskets, ropes, and netting.**—Baskets are woven of creepers, straw, and twigs. Ropes and cords are made of plant fibers and cotton thread. Women beat the raw cotton with sticks to separate the fibers and twist the thread with the aid of some sort of spindle. Cotton thread is used in [286] knitting net fabrics for featherwork, and in making hammocks. Fibers from the outer surface of muriti palm leaves are sometimes used in making hammocks.

323 **Ceramics.**—Pottery vessels, made by women, are modeled directly from a mass of clay and are said to be of poor quality.

411 **Weapons.**—The following weapons have been mentioned but not described: Bows, arrows of reed and of wood, poisoned war arrows, unpoisoned hunting arrows (Martius, 1867), spears with bamboo blades, javelins, wooden knives, hafted (stone?) axes, and war clubs. A cotton bandage was wrapped around the knuckles of the bow hand to protect it from the bowstring. Kotzer (1901) has published illustrations of a [172] number of flat, polished stone ax heads, of oval or nearly quadrangular shape, with lateral notches; these were found archeologically in *Mundurucú* territory. He reports that the *Mundurucú* still make such stone [324] objects, but keep them merely as valuables or as children's toys.

TRADE

439 Despite hostility between the *Mundurucú* and their neighbors, they traded their featherwork extensively. They are said to have depended on an unidentified northern source for arrow poison. After the advent of the missions, manioc meal, sarsaparilla, and other forest products were exported to Santarém in considerable quantities (Martius, 1867).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 616 According to Kruse (1934), the Tapajós River *Mundurucú* have a patrilineal sib and moiety system. There are 34 sibs whose members are

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related to eponymous plants and animals.[1] Sib ancestors are embodied in large ceremonial trumpets called "kachaká," which women are forbidden to see upon pain of lifelong unhappiness. Certain sibs are "related" but the nature of the relationship has not been specified. The sibs are grouped in exogamous moieties: a red moiety of 15 sibs and a white moiety of 19 sibs. A list of the sib names is given by Kruse (1934). In *Mundurucú* tradition these sibs were once warring tribes; their pacification and organization into the present tribal society is attributed to the culture hero.

Polygyny is practiced by men of rank. Younger wives are sometimes solicited voluntarily by the elder wife. Martius reports the levirate. He also states that if a marriageable girl's father dies, and she finds no suitable husband, her mother's brother is obliged to marry her. It is perhaps corroborative evidence of this type of marriage that in the kinship terms given in Strömer's vocabulary, a woman addresses her brother and son-in-law by the same term (tapo).

Patrilocal residence is indicated by Martius' report (1867) that a woman guilty of adultery may be expelled from the house and return to her own family. According to Hartt (1885), each family's section of the communal house is identified by the family's color painted on the post of the partition. No further information about this color symbolism is given.

Each communal house is said to have its house chief and its shaman. Above house chiefs and shamans in rank are war chiefs, chiefs of subtribes (regional groups or moieties?), and a chief shaman. Bates (1890) is the only writer who mentions a paramount tribal chief. Farabee (1917 a) makes an obscure reference to differences in class between war chiefs and "civil" chiefs (house chiefs?). He also states that the sons and daughters of war chiefs intermarry.

MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND WARFARE

The central military institution was the group of warriors living in the men's house. This house and the village were constantly guarded by a patrol whose leader gave signals by means of a trumpet or flute. When a war expedition was being planned, a pledge stick was passed among the warriors by the war chief. A warrior pledged himself to join the expedition by cutting a notch in the stick. When the war party got under way, absolute authority was vested in its leader.

War was generally waged during the summer dry season. Whenever feasible, each warrior was accompanied by his wife or sister, who carried his equipment, prepared food, strung hammocks, aided him if he were wounded, and assisted in the preliminary preparation of trophy heads. The women, according to most authors, took no part in the actual fighting.

[1] [Martius (source No. 2) says this occurred beforehand, in peace time -- Analyst]

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In another dance the peccaries are pursued by hunters and their dogs. The peccaries take refuge in a hole in the ground. The hunters then simulate the construction of a trap by standing with legs astraddle to represent an alley of stakes; the peccaries try to escape between the lines of stakes and are killed by a hunter at the end of the alley.

An abbreviated description of a peccary festival is given by Steinen (1932). This is a hunting ceremony in which the skulls of animals play a role. Sexual intercourse is performed ritually by the participants. At one point in the ceremony, the performers dance on a heap of peccary hair while they sing an invocation of success in peccary hunting.

At a special men's festival in honor of the ab ancestors the sacred trumpets are blown. At the conclusion of the ceremony, a special beverage is poured through the trumpet into a cup and drunk by the participants. The ceremony, performed by men alone since women are not permitted to see the trumpets, is said to propitiate the ab ancestors and to obtain their good will toward their descendants.

At the tree festival a tree is set up in the center of the dwelling house; the participants stand around it while the shaman smokes tobacco and invokes on the house the protection of Karumkaibé, the creator god.

SHAMANISM AND SORCERY

The shaman determines the most favorable time for war parties, exorcises evil spirits, takes a leading part in ceremonies, cures the sick, detects sorcerers, and intervenes to terminate eclipses of the sun. Illness is believed to be caused by the intrusion of a worm into the patient's body, or by sorcery. The shaman cures the intrusion by blowing smoke on the patient's body and sucking out the worm. When many deaths or much sickness occur the malevolence of a sorcerer is suspected; the shaman detects the sorcerer and informs the chief of his identity. The chief appoints two warriors to follow the sorcerer until they have a favorable opportunity to kill him. Some hints as to the technique of sorcery are given in Steinen's vocabulary. He records the word, yamain, meaning "to cut off the head and set it back again," and the word, yakut, "hole in the earth in which to bury the head"—both with reference to the practice of sorcery.

Sorcery is said to be virtually the sole cause of homicide among the Munduruca. Adultery is punished by the expulsion of the guilty persons. When two men become antagonistic, one of them takes his hammock and goes to live in the men's house of another village.

MYTHOLOGY

The creator god and culture hero of Munduruca mythology is Karumkaibé (Caro-Sacaibé (Tocantins, 1877)); Karumkaibe (Kruse, 1934);

T26 other.[11] By drawing their warriors from a number of villages, 701 the Hunkurosi were able to leave enough men in each village to support those women, children, and old people who were not able to leave. They were also able to amass a greater number of warriors, especially when it was necessary to face the Portuguese colonial troops that were sent against them in the late 19th century.

6/9 6/20 Such efforts called for a series of social linkages between villages. This was provided by the social organization which crosscut the society in two ways: by bonds of matrilocality and by the system of clubs and societies. This meant that those men of the village who came from other villages through marriage were linked to those villages by birth and by the residence there of the mother's family. Such linkages formed a chain whereby all villages ultimately were bound to one another by interpersonal ties. The bonds tying each individual to the rest of the society were further tightened by the patrilineal clan system. In most Hunkurosi villages, a person could find other members of his clan. To these people he had especially close ties and obligations, but he also considered all the members of his exogamic society to be relatives. Ultimately, but to a diminished degree, Hunkurosi of the other society were felt to be related and were called by kin terms. The people themselves say, "We are all kin, one of another."

11. This was reported to the writer verbally by Dr. Darcy Ribeiro, Chief of the Section of Tribes, Brazilian Indian Protection Service. Dr. Ribeiro has conducted extensive ethnographic research among the Urubu and heard of these attacks from his informants. This confirms Tartius' report of the same event (Tartius, 1867, p. 334).

58 the same residence or village. There is no evidence that polygyny was ordinarily assured nor did the sororate and levirate have significant occurrences. Some of these traits, so common in many primitive societies, was felt to be obligatory or even especially desirable.

684 Adultery was common and a frequent source of strife in the village. The men regarded their own adulterous escapades as highly diverting, harmless adventures. However, they did not take an lenient a view towards those of their wives. A husband whose wife was unfaithful usually beat her and verbally harangued her. No physical action was taken against the offending male, although an argument might ensue. [58] When the wife became so treacherous that she lowered her husband in the eyes of the community, he left her. The woman whose husband was unfaithful had little recourse except to fight with him and, as one female informant said, "go out and do the same thing yourself." If the husband's behavior became outrageous to the wife's family he might be invited to leave. The problems of sex caused few open ruptures in the Kumdurucú village, but they were always a source of ill feeling.

● 694 The clientele series

The Kumdurucú social organization is rather complex for a Tupian group. They had thirty eight silbe divided into red and white moieties. The red moiety had sixteen silbe while the white had twenty-two. Of these thirty eight, eight are already extinct and my informants indicated that there were several more old silbe that they could no longer remember.

The existence of the clb system was first reported by Mme. Agassiz in 1868[16] and was more thoroughly described by Fr. Alberto Ruese, O.F.M. in 1934.[17] The latter reported only thirty four clbs, but this is understandable by the fact that no one Munduruku can remember more than twenty five to thirty. In addition, these clbs were grouped by now obscure linkages into unnamed phratries. For the purposes of this paper, it will be unnecessary to give a list of the clbs and their affiliations. Clb and society membership was inherited in the patrilineal line. The exogamic moieties were the ultimate marriage regulators as they subsumed the clbs in this function. There were no other exogamous groupings.

Totemic features were generally lacking in the Munduruku clbs. Each clb was named for an animal, plant, or fish but there were no taboos on the killing or eating of the fish or animals. However, they were vaguely considered to be ancestors, or "the old people," a term that is also applied to the people of the mythological age. Ruese reports the myth that the various clbs in ancient times were warring tribes that were united to form the Munduruku tribe and were given names and ancestors by the culture hero, Karusakaibé.[18] My informants could not confirm this myth but said merely that the Munduruku were already existent and that Karusakaibe divided them into clbs and assigned ancestors to each one. The Munduruku term for these clbs is dïesi (literally,

16. Agassiz, 1868, p. 380.

17. Ruese, 1934.

18. Ibid., pp. 81-82.

614 "dwellers of the river"). The Aru (parrot) sib is referred to as arudiwat, or "people of the river of the parrot." There was no legend of a genealogical descendancy, but each sib recognized its eponymous object as their particular "old person." In addition, many sibs had other "old people" who were linked with the sib through those sacred trumpets belonging to it. These ancestors were spoken of as "companions of the trumpets." Sibs whose trumpets had one or more of the same companions were considered to be more closely allied to each other than to the other sibs of that moiety. This linkage was so close in some cases that the members of one were considered the members of the other. During my residence in Cabruá a young Mundurucú man of that village used the sib names of both Karu and Kabe because they were linked. Another case in Cabruá was that of a father who had so many sons that he assigned the last two to another sib in his phratry that had suffered from a decline in membership.

614 614 All of the external manifestations of the sibs were to be found in the men's house. It has already been mentioned that there were three horizontal poles supporting two rows of hammocks in the men's house. This division was not arbitrary for in the north row of hammocks slept the men of the white moiety and on the south row, those of the red moiety. Also, within this moiety division, each man slept adjacent to his fellow sib members and then fellow phratry members. On the upright posts of the red moietie's side were painted the crests of the red sibs and on the other side of the men's house, those of the white. These crests,

614 314 simple geometric and slightly curvilinear designs, were painted there by members of the sib depicted, at the time of the erection of the men's house.

614 534 The sacred trumpets, called wariko, embodied the souls of the "old people" of the sib owning them and also had their own proper souls. These spirits exerted a benevolent influence over the village, but had to be offered food and periodically played in order to maintain this protection. Each village had a set of these trumpets and each one was the property of a certain sib. No special supernatural benefits accrued to the sib owning the trumpets. They were the property of a certain sib only because they took the sib membership of the man who made them. The important thing was that they contained the spirits of "old people" and not that they embodied the ancestors of any particular sib.

614 The sibs had no particular functions in the sense of duties or privileges. They served mainly to integrate the society by firm and formalized intervillage kinship bonds. They integrated the whole tribe, but were expressed by outward symbols in the village men's house. The above mentioned arrangement of hammocks in the men's house indicates that sib and moiety membership served to integrate men from various villages. In marriage regulation, the clans were superceded by the moieties. The moieties also buried each other's dead and had certain reciprocal ceremonial duties.

632 Political organization

Each Mundurucú village had an hereditary chief of limited power. In addition, each house had a recognized

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served to strengthen tribal integration, and at the same time were made possible by it. When a foray was proposed, couriers were sent to several villages to recruit volunteers. The expedition was led by two village chiefs who were reputed as warriors. The force generally set out at the end of one rainy season and returned before the onset of the next. However, some war parties ranged as far as 500 miles from the Munduruc country and might pass the next rainy season and the following dry season on the war path.

Due to the long periods spent campaigning, intervillage participation in war presented many concrete advantages. By drawing fighting men from several communities, a large force could be put in the field, while taking away only a minority of the men of any one village. More than enough people remained to protect and feed the young and old, and the integrity of Munduruc territory was maintained. Also, the horticultural cycle was not allowed to lapse, and gardens remained in production to satisfy the demands of subsistence and trade. The hypothesis that warfare is conducive to patrilocal residence (Murdock 1949:207) is not borne out by the Munduruc.

After the return of a successful war party, the men fortunate enough to have secured trophy heads were responsible for the sponsorship of a ceremony to which people from all Munduruc villages came and in which they actively participated. However, the trophy head ceremony was secondary to the most important Munduruc religious festival, the Ceremony of the Game. This rite was held every year, but its locale shifted annually from one host village to another. Participation was on a tribal level, and the ceremony benefited the Munduruc as a whole.

The most important factor in the multi-community integration of the Munduruc is the fact that, with patrilineality and permanent matrilocality, place of residence and lineal kinship did not coincide, but cross-cut each other. This will be better understood when the structure of the village is analyzed, but it can be easily seen that the men of any one village will be bound to people of other villages by bonds of family and clan. The result is that the locus of kinship institutions was primarily the tribe, and secondarily the village. The village was integrated mainly by co-residence and economic interdependence. The tribe was integrated principally by kinship. Eggan (1937:84) predicts just such a structure when speculating upon the possibility of matrilocality in Gros Ventre society:

> "The Gros Ventre had patrilineal clans which were exogamous, but unfortunately we do not know whether they were localized. There is some evidence that the household unit of the Gros Ventre was based on matrilocal residence; if this were so, the patrilineal clans must have been nonlocalized segments. Such an organization would tend to increase the tribal integration by uniting the various local groups more firmly, since the scattered clansmen could maintain their relationships more easily."

UNILINEAL INSTITUTIONS

Descent among the Munduruc was patrilineal in nearly all respects. Clan membership, chieftainship, shamanistic power, and given names were inherited through the father. Property was not inherited for the simple reason

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that personal possessions were destroyed upon death, garden lands were abandoned after two years of planting and allowed to return to forest, and villages and their houses were abandoned every ten years. Thus land and houses, as such, were "owned" only while being used, and had but temporary value. The only matrilineal traits manifested by the Munduruc6 were a taboo on marriage with the sister's daughter and the retention of children by the wife's family in cases of divorce.

The Munduruc6 were divided by an exogamic moiety system, and these patrilineal moieties were subdivided into component patrilineal clans. Certain clans were allied into loose, unnamed phratries, and four clans had subclans. Although the clans were formally exogamic, their function in marriage regulation was superceded by the moiety. However, sexual relations within the clan and, to a lesser extent, within the phratry were considered to be much more flagrant violations than was a breach of moiety exogamy. The moieties, referred to as "Red" and "White" people by the Munduruc6, had secondary functions such as the burial of each other's dead and the assignment of complementary roles in certain ceremonial situations. The levirate and sororate occasionally occurred, but there is no indication that these were obligatory practices. Marriage with true cross-cousins was very frequent and was looked upon as a desirable union. The community was neither endogamous nor exogamous, and marriage within or outside of the village was permissible.

The interrelation of phratry, clan, and subclan was complex and is of considerable importance in that it manifests a fission process whereby new clans are born and phratries formed. Contemporary Munduruc6 informants reported thirty-eight clans, some of which are now extinct due to depopulation. Twenty-two of these clans were in the White moiety and sixteen were Red. Each clan bore the eponymous name of some plant, bird, or animal, but totemic taboos towards the species after which the clan was named were absent. There was no feeling or expression of relationship with the species on the part of the clan members, nor were there myths of descent from the eponymous objects. Each clan, however, had a spirit called the *ade*, or "old person," which was given the same name as the clan.[3] This carried some connotations of ancestry, as *ade* also denoted the various culture heroes and can well be translated as "great ancestor."

The origin of the clan system is variously explained by Munduruc6 informants. The most common response is that the culture hero, Karusakaibe, divided the Munduruc6 into clans and gave them their names and spirits. However, Kruse (1936) reported a myth wherein the Munduruc6 were once a number of mutually hostile tribes which were united by the same culture hero by the expedient of converting the tribes into clans. In connection with this latter myth and the previously mentioned lack of legends of descent from the eponymous object, it is significant that the Munduruc6 word for the clan, *dwut*, does not directly imply descent. Literally translated, *dwut* means "dwellers of the river." Thus, the Aru (parrot) clan is referred to as Arudiwut, which means "dwellers of the river of the parrot." Ancestry is, however, in-

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ferred indirectly, for an Aru clan member is really a descendant of the dwellers of the river of the parrot. In short, the word for clan is suggestive of the origin of the clan as a local group.

Each Mundurucú village harbored a sacred trumpet which was kept in the men's house, guarded from the eyes of the women. These trumpets were the functional equivalent of the more widely distributed bullroarer. The trumpets were owned by clans, and within them resided the *tadé* (old person) of the clan and another class of spirits called the *che kat'ãũ ejeuũt*, or "companions of the trumpet." The latter also served as clan spirits, secondary to the *tadé* proper of the clan. The "companions of the trumpets" were similarly named after plants, birds, and animals but, unlike the *tadé*, never bore the same name as the clan. Nearly all of the clans had more than one spirit "companion" and in many cases the same "companion" was shared by two or more clans. Where such overlapping existed, the clans owning the trumpets having common "companions" were considered to have a very close relationship, and they either shared a trumpet or their respective trumpets were considered to be one and the same. In anthropological terms, they were of the same phratry. However, not all clans in the same phratry were equally close. For example, let us suppose that there is a phratry of three clans called A, B, and C. Clan A has spirit "companion" x, B has "companions" x and y, and clan C has "companion" y. Clans A and C have no common "companion" but are linked through clan B with which they share "companions." The closeness of both clans A and C to clan B is such that members of clan A or C can bestow the name B upon their young, and vice-versa. However, clans A and C cannot exchange clan names, although they recognize a common bond.

It might be hypothesized that clans A and C have the same spirit "companion of the trumpet" as clan B because they are offspring of the latter. This hypothesis is reinforced by the existence of four clans having subclans. The subclans have the same name as the main clan but the latter is spoken of as the "real" one, while the members of the subclan are referred to as *kobawat*, which can be freely translated as "dwellers of the same place." An interesting facet of this clan and subclan relationship is that the name of the subclan and its trumpet spirits are, in three of the four cases, diminutives of those of the clan. For example, the Kirishi clan (large *ãwabe* tree) has a subclan named Kirishinan (a small species of *ãwabe* tree). The "companion of the trumpets" of both clan and subclan is the fox, but that of the clan is the large fox and that of the subclan is the small fox. The above factors and the especially close feeling between members of the two groups point to the subclan as an offshoot of the clan. In time, the subclan could probably achieve complete independence merely by assuming a new name, but a phratric relationship would continue through the common trumpet "companion."

The clan had no residential basis in the nineteenth century, and little manifest function aside from a limited number of ceremonial duties. The only external symbols of clanship were geometric designs, which were painted on the posts of the men's house by the clan members in residence, and the clan name,

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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which was prefixed to each member's given name. However, the clans operated as a powerful force in tribal integration and were of utmost importance in the structuring of interpersonal relationships.

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

The list of kinship terms used by the Mundurucú male presented below should suggest to the reader some very pertinent hypotheses about Mundurucú social organization.

Vocative		*Referential*	
adjut	father's father; mother's father	adjut djut	father's father; mother's father
awah	father's mother	awah wah	father's mother
adjung	mother's mother; father's sister	adjung djung	mother's mother; father's sister
bai	father; father's brother	we bai; bai bai	father
ai !	mother; mother's sister	bai bai	father's brother
wanyẽ	mother's brother; father-in-law; older brother; older cross and parallel male cousins	u shi; ai !	mother
		ai !	mother's sister
o kot	sister's son; son-in-law; younger brother; younger cross and parallel cousins	o djuxi	mother's brother; father's sister's son
da ẽ	sister; cross and parallel female cousins, daughter; brother's and sister's daughter; son's and daughter's daughter	wanyẽ yẽ	older brother; older mother's sister's son; older father's brother's wife
a rum	brother-in-law (*of same age*); age mate of opposite moiety	o kit pit; o kit kit	younger brother; younger mother's sister's son; younger father's brother's son
bekit; mipi	son; brother's son	we shit	sister; father's brother's and mother's sister's daughters
uxu	daughter's and son's son	da ẽ ẽ	father's sister's daughter
		we shi	mother's brother's son and daughter; sister's son and daughter
		o pit	son; brother's son
		o ra shit	daughter; brother's daughter
		ruhenyehit	grandchildren (*all categories*)

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The division between the male and female spheres of life was symbolized in the complex of beliefs and attitudes connected with the sacred trumpets. The three trumpets were kept in a carefully enclosed chamber adjoining the men's house, and access to the chamber could only be gained by traversing the sleeping quarters. Women were allowed to enter the men's house if they had a good reason, but the trumpet chamber was absolutely forbidden to them. Any woman who spied on the sacred trumpets was immediately punished by gang rape by the males of the village. The women, say the Mundurucú, once owned and played the trumpets and dominated the males. The men did all of the menial chores that the women do now. However, a culture hero stole the trumpets from the women, and their roles were reversed. Since that time the trumpets have been carefully guarded from them, and when new trumpets were made and installed in the men's house or when they were transferred from an old house to a newly built one, the women shut themselves inside their houses and bewailed the loss of the power-giving instruments.[6]

In order to keep the resident spirits happy, the men had to play the trumpets frequently. Three of the village men would play the instruments inside the chamber, and were occasionally relieved by others. At least once a year the trumpets were played all afternoon and night, accompanied by a general village feast. Another small ritual necessary to preserve the benevolent and protective attitude of the trumpet spirits towards the village was the custom of "feeding" the trumpets. Before partaking of any food served in the men's house, a man always entered the trumpet chamber, laid the three trumpets upon the ground and offered a half gourd of food at their mouths, saying "Here is your food. Eat. Make me lucky in the hunt."

The feeding and playing of the trumpets was the only Mundurucú ritual which did not involve the participation of people from other villages. A visitor from another village, however, could play the trumpets if he wished. Also, although the trumpets were clan property, moiety and clan membership did not disqualify a man from feeding or playing them. Any adult who knew how to play the instruments could do so. In view of the completely unilocal nature of the clans, it seems incongruous that the clans owned the village trumpets. For instance, trumpets of the modern village of Cabruá belonged to the Waro clan, which had no members in residence in the village. According to informants, the village trumpets received the clan affiliation of the man who made them. As we will see in the following historical reconstruction, this and many other rather paradoxical facts about Mundurucú culture might have a functional-historical explanation.

PATRILOCALITY TO MATRILOCALITY

I propose to present in this section a reconstruction of changes in Mundurucú social structure which will perhaps be both "conjectural" and "structural" to employ Radcliffe-Brown's (1952:49) categories of methods of analysis, but which will attempt to follow Eggan's recommendation (1954:733) to see "social structures and culture patterns over time." It has been shown that mid-nineteenth century Mundurucú society was as viable as most social sys-

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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Contemporary students of social organization tend to accept the hypothesis of unilocal residence as the basis of unilineality, and there will perhaps not be much argument as to the priority of patrilocality among the Munduruc. The dynamics and stages of the process are, however, an open question. Two dysfunctional or incongruous elements have been noted in the foregoing description of Munduruc patrilineality and matrilocality. One of these is the patrilocality of the chief's sons. This can be explained quite simply as an accommodation of patrilineal inheritance to matrilocal pressure. However, a dysfunctional factor was thereby introduced, for the chief was able to build up a strong lineage-household in villages where such units were no longer possible for the balance of the population. Authority patterns might have become stronger and more centralized due to the new arrangement, but such controls were not essential to this simple, collectivized society.

The other incongruity in Munduruc social structure was the clan ownership of the sacred trumpets. These cult objects functioned to reinforce the structure of the village and not of the clan or the tribe. The trumpet complex was part of village ritual and involved only village participation, despite the fact that spirits pertaining to the clan were appeased. However, the Munduruc clan was completely nonlocalized under the conditions of matrilocality, and the clan-village equivalence suggested by the trumpet complex was therefore impossible. Certainly contemporary informants were able to give no adequate rationalization of the connection between clans and trumpets. On the basis of these structural considerations I would hypothesize that the trumpet complex arose in the period of "the unilocal patrilineal lineage," following Tax's (1963:324-25) second stage of development of the patrilineal clan. With localized clans, village and clan are the same unit (except for the wives of the clan members), and the sacred trumpets and their spirits would form part of a well integrated ancestor cult. Such a social structure, far from being completely hypothetical, is typical of the Northwest Amazon (Whiffen 1915), to choose an example from another part of the South American rain forest. The Munduruc trumpets no longer functioned in this way, and the spirits which resided in the instruments were only incidentally considered ancestral to a certain clan. They actually served to protect and aid the village in which they were located.

On the basis of the above data and interpretations, a tentative reconstruction of Munduruc social history will be attempted in the following paragraphs.

The earliest stage of Munduruc evolution for which we have any significant evidence is that of the patrilocal, single-clan (or patrilineage) village or band. Each clan-village possessed sacred trumpets which embodied the ancestral spirits and were the property of the group. The pattern of referring to the clan as a 'people of the river' may have stemmed from the local nature of the early clan-residence unit.

In the normal process of population expansion, perhaps aided by the introduction of horticulture and the taking of captives, the Munduruc localized clan might have become subdivided due to the limit of population concentra-

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953):1956
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adjustment of the male to a new village was and is not difficult. He was not integrated into a new household but into a men's house in which he would find fellow clan and moiety members from his own and other villages.

Matrilocality, once achieved, sets the residential basis for matrilineality. Murdock (*ibid*:218) admits the possibility of change from patrilineality to matrilineality only with an intervening stage of bilaterality, but then says (*ibid*:212) that such a stage is also "probable" in the transition from matrilineality to patrilineality. It seems obvious that all aspects of descent will not reverse at once. Thus, if the pressures that produced matrilocality eventuated in matrilineality, it would be academic to debate whether or not it was a "direct transition," despite an intervening period of bilaterality. The question would merely be which mode of change can be accomplished most rapidly and with least stress. I have previously pointed to the ownership of the child by the wife's family and the taboo on avuncular marriage as matrilineal features in Mundurucú society which probably evolved shortly after the change to matrilocality. Whether or not the Mundurucú would have become matrilineal but for the inroads of the rubber trade, I leave as an open question. It is clear that matrilineal influences from other groups might easily have caused such a change, and it is also apparent that the patrilineal clans underwent a change and no doubt a diminution of function due to loss of their local nuclei. By the same token, patrilineality as a mode of reckoning kinship was weakened by loss of its residential basis.

If the Mundurucú were indeed transitional, the very rarity of the case argues in favor of Murdock's hypothesis, especially since he "makes no assumptions about ultimate origins or overall priorities among the several types of social structure" (*ibid*:219). If, however, assumptions of priorities are taken into consideration, the Mundurucú fit into a developmental framework which can be traced in terms of more clearly deducible priorities of cultural evolution. This continuum would range from the patrilineal hunting band (Steward 1936), through the emergence of the localized clan from such bands (Goldschmidt 1960; Steward 1937), to, perhaps, the nonlocalized patrilineal clan (Titiev 1944). Although there is no proof that the Mundurucú went through the latter stage, it may have occurred as a consequence of population increase due to early horticulture. With intensified horticulture, as among the Mundurucú, matrilocal pressures and eventual matrilineality would result. This evolutionary scheme is a model and not an invariant sequence, for local historical and ecological situations influence particular culture contours, as is evidenced by Mundurucú history. The latter variables operate in codeterminance with the factors introduced by the evolution of technology and economy to produce sequences which are multilinear in nature. The very pluralism of the causal process renders any over-all generalizations on the evolution of social structure statements of probability. The Mundurucú example by itself cannot show what is probable, but it does indicate the possible. A change from patrilocality to matrilocality probably occurred in this typical patrilineal, patrilocal society, and a further transition to the matrilineate was therefore possible. More field work, especially in South America, and re-examination of the existing sources with this hypothesis in mind might well uncover additional examples.

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The *manhat in* are delayed in their journey in certain years, and the rains then arrive late. There is no way by which humans can hasten their return.

Although the Munduruká have no supernatural techniques to induce or stop rain, they believe that they can frighten the mothers of the rain by planting a bow in the ground when a violent electrical storm threatens. Significantly, they generally resort to such preventative measures at the beginning of the rainy season, a period when storms frequently threaten but seldom strike. I have never seen them attempt to frighten electrical storms away after the full force of the rainy season has arrived.

In the old days, my Munduruká informants, extremely powerful shamans were able to see the *manhat in*, who always took the form of black deer when they traveled. When a shaman sighted one of these invisible animals he knew that it would rain and that it would be useless to go hunting.

Kaxiré Sovaru

The *karóbi* is first of three trumpets, or more precisely, resonant chambers, which are kept in a small enclosed room attached to the men's house of each Munduruká village. These trumpets are functionally equivalent to the more widely distributed bull-roarer. They are taboo to the sight of women, to whom they are believed to have once belonged, and they are endowed with supernatural qualities. This supernatural aspect of the *karóbi* stems from the belief that they harbor certain spirits. There are of three categories. First, each set of trumpets is believed to possess a soul (*dicwáhi*) that resides within the instruments. Again, each set of trumpets is considered to be the property of a certain clan and the residence of the *bebi*, or eponymous ancestor, of the clan. Finally, each set of trumpets has a group of spirit "companions" (*karóbi ejeuxet*). All three categories of spirit, when properly propitiated, act to protect the village in which the trumpets are housed.

The interrelationship of the various spirits of the trumpets with the structure of clan and patriary organization has been analyzed elsewhere,* but a brief recapitulation is necessary in order to understand fully the place of these supernaturals in contemporary Munduruká culture. As mentioned in chapter 1, the Munduruká at one time practiced patrilocal residence, and their patrilineal clans had a residential basis in patrilineages. Furthermore, evidence suggests that the clan was once localized, and clan and village were equivalent units. During this period, what are now only the *karóbi* of certain villages were also the *karóbi* of clan groups. The clan ancestors were contained within the trumpets and exerted a benevolent influence over the clan-village unit. Clan, ancestor, and trumpet were all named after the same eponymous object, whether animal, fish, or plant. Each trumpet also had a spirit companion which was given a plant or animal name other than that of the clan. Ensuing population growth produced segmentation and the formation of new local lineages, some of which in time became localized clans in their own right. The offspring clans adopted new spirit companions for their trumpets but kept those of the parent clan, also. The sharing of a spirit com-

* Murphy, 1958.

passion of the trumpets by parent and offspring clans constituted a phratries affiliation and served to perpetuate their former unity. 534 776 778 174 614

When the Mundurucú shifted from a patrilocal to a matrilocal mode of residence during the nineteenth century, the clans lost their residential basis entirely and their male members were scattered by marriage throughout many villages. The sacred trumpets continued in their role as residences of the ancestral and companion spirits, but they no longer functioned to protect and aid a unified clan-village unit. Today, the trumpets are still regarded as the property of certain clans, but their spirits serve to protect a multiclan village. The close relationship that formerly existed between trumpets, clan ancestors, and clan members has become considerably attenuated, if not altogether lost. The trumpets are now considered the property of the clan of the man who manufactured them. In one village, no member of the clan that owned the village trumpets was in residence in the community. However, members of other clans played the trumpets and the village was nonetheless under the protection of the trumpet spirits. It is not surprising, then, that many informants considered the souls of the trumpets to be of greater importance to the village than were the spirits appropriate to the clan that owned them. The significance of the latter supernaturals will probably become increasingly dim in Mundurucú thought in future years owing to their incompatibility with the new social structure.

The Soul

The Mundurucú believe that all humans, animals, fish, and domesticated plants possess a soul, or *diwáhik*; the most detailed and most important body of belief, however, concerns the souls of humans. People have two *diwáhik*; one is the real soul, and the other is merely the shadow or reflection of the individual. The latter is believed to become transformed into the *adí* spirit upon the physical death of its keeper, and the former leaves the body and goes to the afterworld. The real *diwáhik* is thought to resemble a small, black, ovoid-shaped pebble and is said to be situated in the region of the spinal column, between the lower extremities of the shoulder blades. Although it has physical reality, no one knows of what material it is made. 824 825 779

In spite of their belief in the immortality of the soul, the Mundurucú are not as worried about the fate of the soul after death as they are with the misadventures that may befall the soul during life. The soul is said to leave the body sometime after death, but no informant was certain whether the soul departed immediately or lingered in the corpse for a period of time. The soul of the deceased has three possible destinations. Those of men who devoted considerable time to the playing of the sacred trumpets, or *karóbi*, go to Karóbixat, the place where the trumpets were first discovered by the women. There they play the instruments and live well, for the forests teem with game and the rivers with fish. Men and women who knew the ceremonial dances for the spirit mothers of the game reside in another afterworld, known as Upirúbari, or the land of the game. The animals there have human forms, although the forests are paradoxically thought to be 775

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4

kinship and marriage

One of the major points of discontinuity between the Munduruc[u] and other Tupian-speaking peoples lies in the realm of social organization. The existence of exogamic unilineal descent groups was first reported by Mrs. Louis Agassiz, who visited the Munduruc[u] of the lower Madeira waters in 1865 and wrote: "The tribe is divided into certain orders or classes. . . . Marriage is forbidden . . . between members of the same order."[1] Farabee, who traveled on the Tapajós in 1915, confused the picture somewhat in his report that the Munduruc[u] were divided into two classes of "war chiefs" and "peace chiefs" that intermarried.[2] The actual situation was clarified in a paper written by Albert Kruse, O.F.M.,[3] one of the priests of the Cururu

[1] Agassiz, 1868, p. 320.
[2] Farabee, 1917, p. 137.
[3] Kruse, 1934.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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mission, who described a rather complex system of 34 patrilineal clans, some of which were linked in unnamed phratries, and which were parceled almost equally between patrilineal, exogamic moieties. This report is substantially correct, but for the minor fact that Mundurucú informants can list 38 clans, and the actual number, before depopulation set in, must have been well above 40. Actually, only 30 clans are currently extant.

DESCENT AND RESIDENCE

Although the clans are formally exogamic, their marriage-regulatory functions are superseded by the more inclusive moiety system. The moieties, called "Red" and "White" by the Mundurucú, comprehend 16 and 22 clans. In addition to their marriage-regulatory functions, the moieties partake of the characteristics of reciprocity, rivalry, and antithesis, which, as Lowie notes, are commonly found in moiety systems.* During many ceremonies and on all festive occasions intersexual joking between members of opposite moieties is acceptable and expected, and in the course of everyday village life, one may act with much greater levity toward a person of the complementary group. While the joking aspect of moiety relations may indicate behavior appropriate to prospective sexual partners, latent affinal antagonism is manifest in their reciprocal duties and rights. Every clan in each moiety is designated as the *shimatsiip* of certain clans of the opposite. This mutual relationship entails the duty to bury each others' dead. The Mundurucú look upon this not only as an obligation, but as a right and a privilege, or, as they sometimes phrase it, a mode of revenge. This is not merely symbolic phraseology. During the period when raiding still occurred, it was considered necessary that every dead

* Lowie, 1948, p. 248.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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warrior be buried by members of the opposite moiety in his homeland, no matter how far from home he had fallen. A member of his ihoiwatitit was therefore responsible for bringing his humerus back to the village for proper interment, in lieu of the body. Since a seriously wounded warrior had to be left behind, and would obviously die of hunger or at the hands of the enemy, the ihoiwatitit member cut off the arm bone while he was still alive. It was realized that the man would then die, but informants say that the ihoiwatitit would not be denied its pleasure.

Other moiety-linked rules were exercised during ceremonies. The members of the *Bisiit aupen* (Mothers of the Tapir) society recruited their unwilling neophytes from the opposite moiety during the Ceremony of the Game, and children were ritually "captured" for instruction in warrior songs by members of the other moiety during the war ceremonies. The disappearance of the ceremonies has eliminated these moiety prerogatives, but the joking and burial functions remain. Other extant manifestations of membership may be found in the practice of dyeing a child's carrying sling with his moiety color and in the sleeping arrangements of the men's house.

Although the clans bear eponymous names, they lack most totemic features. Clan members do not observe any special relationship with the animal, plant, fish, or bird for which their descent group is named, nor do they recognize any personal affiliation with these objects. Each clan has an ancestral spirit, referred to as a *tubö*; this term is also used to denote the culture heros and can be loosely translated as "great ancestor." The tubö of a clan bears the same name as the clan. Thus, the tubö of the macaw clan is the macaw. Suggestive though this may be of belief in descent from the eponymous object, the mythology in no way supports such a conclusion. In fact, no formal

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614 773 myth on clan origins exists among the contemporary Mundurucú. Informants merely stated that the tribe was once homogeneous, but the culture hero Karusakaibé divided the group into clans and assigned the eponyms. This belief contrasts with that reported by Kruse, according to [114] which the Mundurucú were once independent and mutually hostile tribes that were welded into a social entity by Karusakaibé through the expedient of converting each tribe into a clan.[6] The latter account and the previously 614 mentioned lack of a clear-cut concept of descent from the eponym are instructive when seen in the light of the term for clan. This word, *dîuut*, means literally "dwellers of the river" (*dî* = river, *uut* = dwellers). Thus, the clan name *Paruwaibuut* can be translated as "Dwellers of the River of the Yellow Macaw." This suggests that the clans were originally localized entities, rather than the present highly dispersed groupings. If this is true, it would 614 contrast strikingly with contemporary clanship, for the 591 Mundurucú are—and this is important—predominantly matrilocal. Under the latter residence rule, young men affiliate with the villages and households of their brides; fathers, sons, and brothers are thereby separated, and clan membership, given the patrilineal mode of descent, becomes scattered throughout the tribe. An earlier phase of lineage and clan localization would imply patrilocality, and we are here presented with the possibility that the Mundurucú underwent a basic change in rule of residence. There is more evidence for this than the conjecture raised by the term for clan, and the argument will be pursued in the following discussion of the ritual prerogatives of clanship.

614 Each savannah village has a men's house, which is the [345] dormitory and club house for all post-pubescent males.

[6] Kruse, 1949, pp. 86-87.

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Attached to this structure is a small, fully enclosed chamber in which are kept a set of three sacred trumpets, known as the *karókó*. It is believed that within each set dwell (1) the ancestral spirit (tubó) of a certain clan and (2) another, lesser, category of supernaturals known as the *karókó ejeuit*, or "companions of the instruments." The clan whose tubó resides in a particular set of trumpets is said to be the owner of the instruments. Few clans can own trumpets under present conditions, because only six villages now have men's houses.

An anomalous situation derives from the fact that the instruments are today considered to belong to the clan of the man who made them. Thus, the trumpets of the village of Cabruá were made by a man of the *Waró* clan and so belonged to it and its phratric affiliates, the *Ibi* and *Bapaxo* clans. The craftsman died, and at the time of our stay no members of these clans resided in the village. This is not an unusual situation, because the general rule of matrilocality, combined with patrilineal inheritance of clan and moiety membership, tends to prevent any residential nuclei of fellow clansmen from developing. The sons of the man who made the trumpets of Cabruá moved to the villages of their wives upon marriage, and the demise of the father simply terminated the line in this particular village. Of course, it is possible that a *Waró*, *Ibi*, or *Bapaxo* man might similarly take up residence in Cabruá, but such an event would be accidental. We are thus confronted with a situation in which the ancestral spirits of clans are housed in sacred musical instruments that are presumably the property of the clan, but with which the clan members may possibly have no contact or ritual relationship. Actually, the trumpets are played by any man of any clan or either moiety who lives in the village, or by any Munduruká who might happen to be in

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614 534 778 the village. And the spirits in the trumpets, which have to be placated by playing the instruments and presenting them with ritual offerings of food, are considered to offer protection and aid to the village, and not to the clan. Despite the *de jure* rights of the clan over the karökö, *de facto* rights are vested in the village. This anomaly could only be resolved if the clan were either localized or had local nuclei. This would be possible only under a patrilocal rule of residence, which would allow the men, who are the perpetuators and transmitters of clan membership, to remain in the paternal home after marriage.

614 [591] Clan ownership of the karökö and the localization implicit in the word for clan both suggest that the matrilocal rule of residence is not very old and was preceded by patrilocality. Further evidence for this conclusion may be found in the complex linkages on which the phratries are based. The data on these ties are admittedly inaccurate and incomplete. Despite this disadvantage, it is patent that there is a correlation between the spirit "companions of the trumpets" and phratry. Many clans have several "companion" spirits, and some of these spirits are shared by more than one clan. Thus, the *Witum*, *Wakö*, and *Karö* clans of the Red moiety share a "companion" spirit called *warèmap*, and, correspondingly, the members of each of the three clans refer to those of the other two as *uchèrim*, or "of our group." This example suffices to illustrate the principle on which phratries are formed, although this phratry is one of the least complex. A somewhat more intricate phratry consists of the *Karö* subclan, *Kabö*, *Arö*, *Yurö*, and *Ibi* clans of the Red moiety. *Yurö* and *Ibi* are linked by common recognition of *apat*, the crocodile, as spirit "companion of the trumpets"; *Karö* subclan and *Arö* are affiliated through common recognition of the yurèkpèkpèkpèka, a bird; *Kabö* and *Arö* are affiliated through

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12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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kwatí, a tree; and Arú and Turí find a bond in fishtip, another tree. The five member phratries do not all have the same "companion of the trumpets" as in the first case presented, but rather are tied together in a chain of pairs of common spirits. The fact that some clans within a phratry may be directly linked to another through a mutually recognized spirit and to others only by intervening clans results in some difference of feelings of kinship. Thus, only clans that maintain an especially close bond through possession of identical spirits can interchange members. For example, a man of the Sau clan may bestow the name *Muri* on one or more of his children. This does not alter the father-child relationship in any way, but the children of sons who have received the name of a close clan of the father's phratry, in turn transfer this membership to their children. Among the contemporary Munduruci, this practice is frequently and deliberately followed in order to bolster the ranks of depopulated clans.

The *Kirihi* clan of the White moiety and the *Waxi*, *Sau*, and *Karú* clans of the Red are divided into two sections. The clan proper is referred to by the Munduruci as the "real" clan, while the subclan is known as *kakaxeut*, or "dwellers of the same place." The members of each section feel even more closely related than do members of the same phratry, and the naming system does not reveal to which section an individual belongs. Membership in each section is kept separate only through general knowledge of each person's genealogy. Three of these four clans have an interesting characteristic. They share spirit "companions of the trumpets" except for a minor difference: the clan proper recognizes the larger species of a plant or animal family, the subclan the smaller species.

This detail and the identity of clan names suggest that the subclan hail is an offshoot of the clan. If this is so,

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then it may be surmised that Munduruc6 clans have undergone a basic process of segmentation. That such a process continued into recent centuries is indicated by the incomplete differentiation of these four clans. If it can be supposed that the four subclans would in time become increasingly independent of the parent group and would eventually assume their own names and tabö while maintaining a more nebulous bond through the common "companion" spirits, the end result would be a phratric alliance. There is no definitive proof for this hypothesis, but such a process is the only unitary explanation of the phenomena of phratries and subclans. The data given by informants on the relation between clans, phratries, and the spirit "companions of the trumpets" are irregular. Certain clans that should logically be linked by common spirits were said by informants to be unaffiliated; others were placed within the same phratry where no grounds for such linkage exist. This unevenness is reminiscent of the problems encountered by students of Pueblo clan and phratry organization. Depopulation and the weakening of broader kin groupings have obscured the intricacies of the system, making reconstruction most difficult. But the Munduruc6 data do show a pronounced tendency toward consistency between phratric affiliation and shared "companion" spirits.

The creation of new clans by the internal segmentation of old ones has numerous parallels in other societies. Patrilineal clans frequently segment under conditions of an expanding population, which causes lineages to break off and establish themselves in new territory in search of adequate resources. The offshoot group in time becomes differentiated from the parent unit and may establish itself as a new clan, although maintaining some symbolic representation of its former connection. Such a budding proc-

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ess, however, is possible only if the patrilineal society is also patrilocal, because it assumes a localized group of related males who are subjected to a common pressure to seek fresh sources of subsistence, and who can move as a unit. Under a matrilocal residence rule, the budding of lineages from a parent clan is more difficult, because the male members of the matrilineage, who are after all the principal actors in authority and decision making, have no residential locus. This accords with George P. Murdock's observations on the relatively greater ease of fission of localized patrilineal clans;[6] it is also congruent with W. Robertson Smith's generalization that patrilineality (and patrilocality) are better adapted to the needs of an expanding society than matrilineality (and matrilocality).[7]

The structure of Mundurucú clanship points clearly to an antecedent rule of patrilocality. The view of Murdock,[8] Steward,[9] and Titiev,[10] among others, that a unilineal system of descent is based upon and grows out of a corresponding unilocal mode of residence would make this an attractive hypothesis even without the evidence that has been presented. Historical confirmation of the thesis is found in the writings of Martius. He reported that bridegrooms were obliged to spend several years in service to the father-in-law.[11] At the end of this period they probably returned to their natal dwellings, for Martius noted that a man could eject his wife if displeased with her.[12]

The time of the change from patrilocality with temporary matrilocality to permanent matrilocality is uncer-

[6] Murdock, 1949, pp. 214-215.
[7] Smith, 1885, p. 269.
[8] Murdock, 1949, p. 208.
[9] Steward, 1938, pp. 243-244.
[10] Titiev, 1943.
[11] Martius, 1867, p. 382.
[12] Ibid., p. 383.

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174 591 614 tain, but it probably took place during the mid-nineteenth century. Matrilocality was the only mode of residence that even the oldest Mundurucú could remember, and they had no traditional memory of previous patrilocality. Also, Tocantins reported that, in 1875, quarrels between men were resolved by the departure of one of the parties from the village,[13] suggesting the absence of a local lineage and the high male mobility characteristic of Mundurucú matrilocality.

174 439 178 591 614 The reasons for the shift in post-marital residence rule are far less certain, and no final conclusions can be arrived at on the basis of available data. Certain known changes in productive relations, however, yield inference to the possible processes at work. It will be remembered that before their deep involvement in rubber production, the Mundurucú traded extensively in farinha, or manioc flour. This must have caused a substantial increase in the amount of land under cultivation and a great expansion of production of bitter manioc.[14] The roles of the male and female did not undergo any important shift. Men cleared the forest land for gardens, as they do today, and the women cared for the crops, harvested them, and manufactured the farinha. Women thus became of greater economic importance, because of the increase in gross amount

[13] Tocantins, 1877, p. 111.

[14] The extent of this early trade in manioc flour may be inferred from Martius's account (1867, p. 365 n.): "This tribe is more industrious than any other. It is calculated that the inhabitants of the settlements on the Tapajós prepare 6000 pecks [3.12 litres each] of manioc flour annually, those of the Maués 1500 and those of the Canumá 800, which for the most part is exported to Santarem and neighboring locales. They readily give abundantly therefrom to the priests as a gift. In the year 1819 the Mundrucús of the Canumá collected and brought to market 900 *arrobas* [32 pounds each] of cinnamon clove and an equal amount of sarsaparilla. Through such a disposition to homely diligence, the speedy settlement of all the Mundrucús among the whites is to be expected."

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of work performed and the added importance of the co-operative labor involved in farinha manufacture. This process, as has been described, calls for a division of tasks and a degree of organization among the women of a household. The latter, under the patrilocal rule, consisted of the wives of the lineage members, a group of women of diverse residential origins having no preëstablished ties of mutual accommodation and coöperation. The altered social system resulting from matrilocality, however, maintained the household group of sisters and their daughters and provided for the continuity of a female work group bonded by ties of kinship and within which the members were reared. The new-type household was thus better suited to its intensified role as a productive unit.[15]

To review the reconstruction of changes in Mundurucú clanship, reference to a period well before the contact of the tribe with the whites is necessary. It was hypothesized that the Mundurucú were at that time patrilineal and patrilocal and were undergoing population expansion. The clans may have been completely localized; they surely had large local nuclei. The pressure of growing population on resources resulted in the budding off of lineages from these local groups; these lineages became subclans and ultimately independent clans maintaining a phratric affiliation with the parent unit. The colonization of the Amazon Valley and the subsequent establishment of trade with the whites, in which farinha was exchanged for manufactured articles, may have so enhanced the importance of female

[15] Eggan (1950, p. 131) states that the Hopi remained matrilocal despite the transfer of the major horticultural chores to the men because it was efficacious that the corn-grinding groups of related females be maintained. This presents a parallel to the hypothesized Mundurucú situation, although the Hopi pose a question of the maintenance of a pattern while the problem here is one of change. From either a causal or a functional viewpoint, however, the two cases support each other.

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105 labor, in general, and the female work organization, in
174 particular, that extended families increasingly sought to
562 keep their daughters, even at the price of relinquishing the
614 sons. The result was a shift, probably gradual, to a matri-
local mode of residence.

This shift modified the nature of Mundurucú society,
105 and its further consequences will be developed in the
174 course of this chapter. The most immediate and obvious
614 change, however, was the destruction of the residential basis of clanship through the dispersal upon marriage of the men, who are the transmitters of membership. This can be illustrated by the census of one village, which shows that eleven clans are represented among nineteen men. In a matrilocal and matrilineal system, men are also dispersed, but since descent is through females a co-resident lineage having a core of clanswomen can be maintained. This is not possible among the Mundurucú, for the patrilineal descent system places a daughter in a different clan and the opposite moiety from those of her mother. Thus, although the women are nucleated into clusters of blood relatives, the clan membership of these units is also eclectic.

The result of this fragmentation has been the severe
614 weakening of the clan as a functional social entity with corporate prerogatives. In the hypothesized localized form, the clan was a co-resident unit having important economic and political characteristics. Its members were in everyday interaction with each other, and bonds of clanship were continuously manifested and exercised. Moreover, the clan, through its possession of sacred musical instruments, had ritual significance that is perpetuated into the present only as empty form. Other than the continued nominal ownership of the trumpets, clans, as social entities, have few prerogatives. They bury the dead of certain clans of

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the opposite moiety within the framework of the iboiwatitit relationship, and the clan crests, consisting of geometric designs, of the inhabitants of each men's house are painted on the upright posts of the structure. Fellow clansmen sleep in adjacent hammocks in the men's house and are adjoined by members of the same phratry, if any reside in the village.

Beyond these few remaining manifestations of clanship there remains only its expression in interpersonal behavior. The clan affiliation of every Mundurucú is known to every other through the naming system. The name of each Mundurucú consists of his clan name with a given name suffixed. Boys are given the name of their great-grandfather in the direct paternal line. If there are several brothers, some are assigned the names of the great-grandfather's brothers, both real and classificatory. Girls are given the names of the father's mother's mother. Thus, given names are transmitted in certain clans, or, at least, within the moiety. The possession of a name is one criterion of membership in Mundurucú society. The product of a union between a white man and a Mundurucú woman is for this reason, more than for his mixed ancestry, looked upon as marginal to the society. Similarly, illegitimacy, while looked upon as a misfortune, does not socially disable the child as long as the father is known. If, on the other hand, the mother does not know who the child's father is, it can receive no name. Such children are not mistreated, but they are generally called by the derogatory nickname, *tun* (excrement).

Clanship thus continues to bestow a social identity on its members and to establish their inclusion as "people," or Mundurucú. In this sense, it is an important mechanism in the maintenance of social boundaries between the Mundurucú and their Brazilian neighbors. Fellow clansmen are

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614 expected to show warmth, support, and hospitality to each other; they are "brothers" and are expected to act accordingly. These obligations are discharged when a Munduruc\u00fa is called upon to do so. He seldom meets more than a few of his clan fellows in the course of everyday life, however, and the opportunity for the exercise of expected behavior toward any large number of fellow clansmen rarely arises. This follows from the results of matrilocality and also from the contemporary rarity of gatherings involving people of several villages. The latter factor is of [619] some importance, for multivillage participation in warfare and ceremony was the distinguishing feature of Munduruc\u00fa tribal integration in times past.

611 622 The patrilineal principle of descent has contemporary significance beyond the inheritance of clan membership. Chieftaincy is ideally transmitted in the male line; the eldest son of the chief is considered the appropriate heir, but the office may also be passed to a brother or a younger son. In order to accommodate patrilineal inheritance to the continuity of village leadership, the sons of village chiefs are generally exempt from the matrilocal rule. Also,

611 756 shamanistic power is believed to be inherent in certain people from birth and is inherited only through the father. Whole family lines are recognized as shamans, whether or not they actually practice the art.

428 768 Shamanism and chieftaincy are the only important inheritable offices. All portable personal property is destroyed on the death of the owner. Houses, which are abandoned every ten years, are not inherited, and there is no private or group property in land.

MARRIAGE

584 Entry into a marital compact is an extremely simple affair among the Munduruc\u00fa. A young man in search of a mate

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534 778 [345]

leaf walls and a baffle doorway guarantee the privacy of the instruments. The Mundurucú believe that the karökö spirits protect the village and give it supernatural aid, but proper relations must be observed toward these supernaturals if their benevolence is to be maintained and their anger avoided. The trumpets and their spirits are pleased by being periodically played. This is now done about every other evening, but the older men claim that the ritual was formerly performed daily. The karökö consists of a set of three hollow cylinders with reeds set in the mouths; their sizes are slightly graded and the note produced by each is of a slightly different pitch, although all produce a low, vibrant sound. When they are played by the usual three-man group, the music sounds like a dirge.

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In addition to playing the instruments, the men must "feed" them almost daily. This is done during the evening meal. The trumpets are laid on the floor, and one of the men holds a bowl of food momentarily before the end of each, saying: "Here, old people. Eat. And make me lucky in the hunt." The food is then brought outside and poured back into the community bowl and eaten.

[194] [194]

It has been said that the functional connection between clan and trumpet has become extremely attenuated, and each karökö is now, in effect, part of a village cult. The karökö has a further function, however, in rationalizing and maintaining the social roles considered proper to either sex. Long ago, say the Mundurucú, there were no sacred musical instruments. Three women went to the forest one day and heard music issuing from a lagoon. They returned with nets and caught three fish, each of which turned into a trumpet. The women kept their discovery secret, but one day the men learned that they had musical instruments which they played in the forest, and demanded that they bring them to the village. The women

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that dictate other choices of residence. Most uxorilocal marriages are still predominantly matrilocal, but there is a pronounced trend toward slackening of the rule and, perhaps, ultimate bilocality. The homogeneity of the group of related females has thereby been disturbed. Furthermore, the extended family in its reduced circumstances may include few or no true female siblings, but only matrilateral parallel cousins and more remote collaterals. The net effect of all these factors is to weaken the bonds of kinship in the household and to facilitate the separation of nuclear families or clusters of relatives.

The tightness of extended kinship ties has decreased. The nuclear family has gained greater importance because it is the consumption unit in the trade economy, and the extended family has correspondingly suffered. During the rubber season, the nuclear family is frequently the basic social and economic unit. Clanship has been preserved and continues to be a primary means by which the relations of the tribesmen are structured. But the clans long ago lost most of their corporate rights and obligations with the disappearance of their residential nuclei. Clanship persisted after this loss through large-scale enterprises in which many villages participated and which afforded clansmen the opportunity to cooperate and associate. But these activities too have declined, and the significant group of intensively interacting kinsmen is now restricted to the membership of individual villages. Relations between scattered clansmen are still maintained but seldom activated. Since a man usually has few, or no, clan fellows as village co-residents, the unity of descent groups is thereby weakened. It is seen, then, that in several respects the contradiction between descent and residence makes for fundamental instability in the social structure.

The most important force in the process of stripping the

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182 59 611 turally compatible with matrilocality, and their absence may well have caused the Munduruc\u00fa to adapt to increased manioc production in some other way. And so far as they were necessary preconditions for matrilocality in a patrilineal society, we may also say that they were causes.

The determining role of the social structure on social change is clearly seen in the kind of matrilocality practiced and in the resultant social units. The Munduruc\u00fa certainly do not have the usual type of matrilocality. Indeed, a possible source of social friction is resolved by allowing the men to live in their own dwelling, apart from the extended families of related females.[6] Munduruc\u00fa "patrilineality" no longer refers to the type of descent groups characteristic of the old society or to the kind of unit to which the taxonomic category is generally applied. The society lost its patrilineages, except for those of the chiefs; and descent groupings, in general, were shorn of most of their solidary features. Clanship no longer implied cooperating, interacting groups of people, although it has remained important for some time in the ordering of kinship-ascribed role behavior. [614]

182 794 The impact of the change was felt throughout the social structure. The cult of the spirits of the clan ancestors became a village-centered ritual, and villagers, not clansmen, were seen to have reciprocal relations with these supernaturals. The primary remaining function of the whole sacred-trumpet complex has become the maintenance of male ascendancy in villages whose hereditary inhabitants are women. The protection and benevolence of the trum-

[6] It has been suggested that I use the term *duolocality* to describe Munduruc\u00fa residence. Although more exactly descriptive, I have chosen not to use this term because it may obscure the basic fact that this society maintains the integrity of a core of related females.